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ABSTRACT

An examination of Rosa Parks' relationship with the Highlander Folk School from the first encounter in 1955 through Labor Day of 1956 provides a new understanding of the school's public relations program that sought to end segregation in the Jim Crow South. Myles Horton founded Highlander in 1932 to provide an adult residential center in the South for the development of community leaders among school, church, civic, labor, and farm groups. By the time Parks first visited in 1955, Highlander had already compiled an impressive record of training Southern community leaders. Although Parks was not sent to Montgomery from Highlander to start a boycott, the city's black community was primed for the opportunity that her arrest presented. Personal circumstances combined to encourage Highlander to recruit Parks for their continuing efforts. The conscious development of feedback from participants such as Parks served to develop the school's activist agenda for the Freedom movement. Considering the capricious and often violent public dynamic the school's administration faced, Highlander's research-driven process would have satisfied even today's criteria for proactive, goal-based, research and evaluation-driven management recommended by leading public relations and communication educators. The evidence of this case challenges public relations educators and practitioners who, in constructing a formal discipline like other disciplines, have named exclusive ethical standards to match a separately derived framework of professional operating norms. (Contains 30 references and 52 notes.) (RS)

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Ethos in action: Public relations at the Highlander Folk School, 1955-1956

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Rosa Parks' arrest for refusing to surrender her seat on a Montgomery city bus to a white passenger represents a high point of individual action in what became the national civil rights movement. Yet, after her December 1, 1955, arrest, Parks faded from view to play supportive roles for the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) in Montgomery, Alabama. Many published treatments of the topic record her attendance prior to her civil rights movement-igniting arrest at a summer, 1955, workshop on school integration at the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee. By contrast, a minimum of attention has been paid to her subsequent involvement in the fight for integration through the Highlander Folk School.[1] What happened to Rosa Parks after her infamous arrest and how might her subsequent role at Highlander shed light on the school's development of strategies to realize its organizational values?

An examination of Parks' relationship with Highlander from that first encounter in 1955 through Labor Day of 1956 provides a new understanding of the school's public relations program that sought to end segregation in the Jim Crow South. To be sure, Parks served more as participant and subject than creator of the Highlander's movement-related program. As such, she provides a point of observation for the strategies developed by the school's staff at this time.

Generally in the study of the Civil Rights movement since 1955, it is clear that social values involved may -- and have been -- be treated as distinct from public relations strategies. For example, American examples of strategies such as the sit-in and the boycott date to before the turn of the century in the early labor and civil rights struggles. By contrast, consider the religious Right's 1990s pro-life crusade which features many of the same civil disobedience protest tactics that were refined in the 1950s and 1960s.[3] Given this apparent disjuncture between organizational ethos and its strategic operationalization, historical and public relations scholarship on this era neglects the nexus of strategy and values by which organizations have tried to influence events.

In the case at hand, the work of the Highlander Folk School also falls outside of the scope of much work by public relations educators, who define professional status by the adherence to a code of values matched to formal standards of institutional practice. Their criteria for public relations professionalism call for "a set of professional values," "membership in strong professional organizations," "adherence to professional norms," "an intellectual tradition and established body of knowledge," and "technical skills acquired through professional training." In this self-definition of a discipline and a profession, public relations professionalism offers the "the solution to antisocial use of public relations," such as employed by the Ku Klux Klan to achieve

its expansion in the 1920s, as well as the job-security of legitimate status at universities and in corporations.[3]

While seeking to define the professional boundaries of public relations, such distinctions ignore the essential and variable dynamic between technical, tactically-oriented standards of public relations practice and the organizational values allied to those tactics. Moreover, such a normative view of professional public relations would seem to delegitimate non-"professional" or non-mainstream, extra-corporate experiences as objects for study and application.

By evaluating organizational values in relation to their associated strategies, it becomes possible to study the relationships between ethos and action in public relations. Given that the actors' values are essential to the decision-making process in organizational communications, the Highlander case offers an opportunity to study the successful practice of public relations skills and strategies outside of the prescribed norms of such professional organizations as the Public Relations Society of America. Throughout its 29-year existence, the Highlander staff successfully developed goal-driven planning strategies that identified and attended to internal and external publics through appropriately interactive channels.[4] The school's experience suggests that values-driven strategy, rather than a set of externally determined, "professional" values attached to

strategies, represents the best general measure of public relations in practice.

To introduce the overall discussion of strategy and ethics in Highlander's public relations practice, the following section will present the Highlander Folk School and the Montgomery bus boycott organizations as they were linked through Parks. A history of Parks' participation in Highlander activities before and during the boycott then precedes a detailed analysis of the Highlander's strategies developed around her participation in that program through 1956.

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Rosa Parks first visited the Highlander Folk School for a two-week conference on school desegregation late July and early August, 1955.[3] A seamstress and a longtime member of the NAACP in Montgomery, Parks was interested in the school's activities but could not afford the school's tuition. Instead, that was paid by a scholarship offered by the Highlander. In the spring of that year, the Highlander's founding director, Myles Horton, had called Virginia Durr of Montgomery to solicit a Black scholarship recipient for the upcoming workshop. Durr, a key Highlander benefactor, sister of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, and a liberal activist in Montgomery, suggested Parks.[4]

Among the Highlander's white supporters, New Deal liberals were also important in the school's development. Virginia's

husband, Clifford Durr was a veteran of Roosevelt's New Deal administration. The Durrs were also friends of Senator and Mrs. Lyndon Johnson. Ever willing to invoke her prominent connections, Virginia Durr's involvement in the management of the school was constant. She corresponded constantly with Myles Horton to discuss plans of every order. The Montgomery publisher of Southern Farm and Home, Aubrey Williams also underwrote Highlander activities. At Virginia Durr's request, he paid Parks' travel costs to her first Highlander session at Monteagle, Tennessee, some 300 miles northwest of Montgomery near Chattanooga.'

Black community leaders had long been central, too. Before E. D. Nixon encouraged Parks to go to Highlander in July of 1955, he had worked with Horton in the 1930s to organize farm laborers in Alabama.'

Parks' experience at Highlander was strongly influenced by Horton's ideals. A native "hillbilly" of Tennessee's Cumberland mountains around Monteagle, he had founded Highlander in 1932 with Vanderbilt University theology student Don West "to provide an adult residential center in the South for the development of community leaders among school, church, civic, labor, and farm groups, and for liberal education." West left Highlander in April of 1933 to found his own school in Georgia. Contrary to Southern customs and Tennessee state laws, Horton assumed that racial integration was essential to social problem-solving. Indeed, since his days as the secretary of the Tennessee YMCA in 1928, he had

insisted on integrating all activities. In that way, the residential dimension of Highlander life required staff and students to overcome the boundaries of the segregated world of the Jim Crow South.

In his first fund-raising letter prior to the Highlander's 1932 opening, Horton proposed to "use education as one of the instruments for bringing about a new social order." The formative experiences that led him to that goal had been intense. Born in 1905, he had stopped his formal education at 14 to work full-time. He attended Cumberland College in Lebanon, Tennessee, from 1924-28. At the age of 23, he undertook a year-long program of self-education about social activism, reading the social philosophies of William James, John Dewey, and the adult educational theories of Edward Lindeman and Joseph Hart. Between 1929 and 1931, he met several of these leading radical educators of the time in New York and Chicago. Particularly, John Dewey of Columbia University, urban sociologist Robert Park of the University of Chicago, and socialist theologian Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary in New York each influenced Horton as he struggled to shape the idea that would become the Highlander. Dewey advocated the problem-centered approach that later became central to the Highlander's engagement in community life. Park taught Horton the values of experience-based learning and of "conflict as a basis for social analysis." After having encouraged Horton to visit Denmark to study folk-schools there and later to form the Highlander,

Niebuhr lent his influence by signing Horton's initial fund-raising letter on Union Theological Seminary letterhead in May of 1932.

From that point, the Highlander's course was set. By coupling these values to the support of mass movements in the region from 1932-1961, Horton developed Highlander variously as a community folk school dedicated to organizing local county mill- and mine workers into unions, as a residential school for the C.I.O.-based Southern labor movement, as the education center for the Farmers Union in the South, and as a focal center for the civil rights movement. Throughout, the school's ability to revert to the "plastic stage" to interact with new movements and constituencies reflected the dynamic that made the school central to social change in the South during this period. On the one hand, Highlander's programs depended on mass movements for their agenda and drive; at the same time, Horton's explicit purpose in founding the folk-school centered on teaching people to teach themselves to develop solutions based on their experiential expertise. Although he was often given the opportunity to become part of the post-movement institutions that Highlander helped to establish, the transition from movement to movement reflected Horton's established ethic of training community leaders or self-sufficiency.'

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By the time that Rosa Parks first visited in 1955, Highlander had already compiled an impressive record of training Southern community leaders. By 1953, "over ten thousand church, farm, labor, education, and community leaders had been trained at Highlander residence sessions and an additional fifteen thousand to twenty thousand had been trained by the Highlander faculty in extension classes in every state in the South."[10] The session that Parks attended in 1955 followed an extensive series of workshops addressing school desegregation dating back to 1953, when the Highlander faculty had foreseen the outcome of the impending Brown v. School Board of Topeka decision by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The problem-centered strategy Horton favored brought people together to pool their experiences in hopes of finding common solutions. This catalytic role played by Highlander reflected its status as a "movement halfway house."[11] The school's setting on a 200-acre farm in the Cumberland mountains provided a retreat for activists from mainstream institutions to consider available information about current and past situations, strategies, and tactics. The Highlander staff sought "to train community leaders for participation in a democratic society and to assist them in developing programs for the welfare of all people."[12] Above all, the goal of social change through integration prevented the school from becoming assimilated into "normal" Southern society. At the same time, the conservative approach of workshops aimed at

community-based direct action allowed the school to maintain a respectable presence in that society. In this way, Highlander survived to support the emerging civil rights movement.[13]

Describing the transformative experience she had there in 1955, Parks, "...found out for the first time in my adult life that this could be a unified society, that there was such a thing as people of all races and backgrounds meeting and having workshops and living together in peace and harmony."[14] This discovery proved to be the substance of her Highlander education, for she did not leave Monteagle programmed for activism. To the contrary, what impressed her fellow participants at the July-August, 1955, workshop was her shyness. The Highlander's problem-oriented strategy drew her out as she shared a report on her Montgomery NAACP chapter's successful battle to have an integrated crowd admitted to a travelling display known as the Freedom Train. Beyond that project, she held little optimism for further efforts to collectivize the city's Blacks in integration efforts. Her experience in the NAACP since World War II had included working as advisor to the organization's youth organization and as secretary for Montgomery chapter president Nixon.[15] Although the two-week Highlander workshop on integrating public schools produced a practical field guide for direct action entitled, "Working Toward Integrated Public Schools in Your Own Community: A Guide to Action," nothing about Parks' December 1, 1955, arrest reflects its influence.[16]

On that day, the 44-year-old Parks boarded the Montgomery city bus as usual to go home, sitting in the "colored section," as required by law. She was tired from a full day of work as she took her place on the bus that was two-thirds full of Black commuters. As the vehicle filled up, the driver came back to claim the foremost seats in the "colored section" for whites, as the law dictated. The prospect of being left to stand struck her as more than an inconvenience. "For a white person to take the seat, I would have had to stand. It [the arrest] was not at all prearranged. It just happened that the driver made a demand and I just didn't feel like obeying his demand. He called a policeman and I was arrested and placed in jail, later released on a $100 bond and brought to trial on December 5th. This is what I wanted to know; when and how would we ever determine our rights as human beings?"[17]

Although Parks was not sent to Montgomery from Highlander to start the boycott, the city's Black community was primed for the opportunity that her arrest presented. As they went to the city jail together to post Parks' bail, Nixon and the Durrs discussed making Parks' case a federal test case. "<u>This is the case</u>. We can boycott the bus lines with this and at the same time go to the Supreme Court," Nixon said. Already that year, two other Black women had been arrested in segregated bus seating conflicts, but for different reasons, each was deemed unsuitable for such a test. Parks, a pillar of the community, represented all that Nixon and

the community leadership could have hoped for as they moved to activate their plans to fight segregation.[18]

After Parks' Highlander experience, Virginia Durr noted the difference in a letter to Myles and Zilphia Horton: "But now comes your part...(regarding)...the effect the school has on Mrs. Parks. When she came back, she was so happy and felt so elated and then as time went on she said the discrimination got worse and worse to bear <u>after</u> having, for the first time in her life, been free of it at Highlander. I am sure that had a lot to do with her daring to risk arrest."[19] Shortly after her incarceration, Parks affirmed that she had not intended to get arrested or to start a protest movement. In the end, she appreciated not being required to take a prominent role in movement meetings. "It is really our fight rather than mine," she said.[20]

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Already an unlikely heroine, why did Parks continue to work for integration through the Highlander? Martin Luther King, Jr., suggested that she "had been tracked down by the <u>Zeitgeist</u> --spirit of the time."[21] Given that King had already found himself confronted with a movement that he would not have chosen to lead, perhaps his remark reflected empathy for another also caught in the face of circumstance.[22] During the year before the Supreme Court's decision, the Highlander, the Black church community, and the NAACP in Montgomery had been preparing to act.[23] So, on the heels of the

Brown decision of 1954, Parks' arrest triggered Black Montgomery's readiness to act for social change. Still, contingency alone cannot explain how and why these people acted for change. The degree to which Parks' involvement with Highlander can be traced offers insight into the public relations mechanism that accounted for that institution's viability. The following inquiry into the school's organization will explore the processes which guided Parks and others to the direct action advocated by the Highlander.

Although it might seem that the times were ripe for such action, more personal circumstances combined to encourage Highlander strategy to recruit Parks for their continuing efforts. Never wealthy, after her arrest her finances became even tighter: her rent was raised, her husband lost trade at his barber shop, and he and her mother were ill. Moreover, her notoriety had brought a crush of interviews, making a normal life difficult.[24] Influenced by the rumor that Parks had lost her job as a seamstress at the Montgomery Fair department store, Virginia Durr wrote to Myles Horton to say that she would encourage Parks to return to Highlander, "as she would be a wonderful inspiration at a meeting."[25] About the upcoming Highlander conference on March 3-4, 1956, for planning the summer workshops on public school integration, Horton replied, "It is wonderful to know that Rosa can be with us. She is a symbol of the thing we all believe in." Horton sent Parks a check and arranged her transportation from Alabama to Tennessee. The tone of the Durr-Horton correspondence

in early 1956 reflected the passion for the cause, as well as their interest in Parks' well-being. Even as Horton brought Parks, the "symbol," into the Highlander's outside activities, he was considerate of her needs. In setting up a meeting in New York in April, 1956, he "proposed that if a collection is taken at the church, it be used solely for Rosa's expenses." He also sent her a telegram from Highlander saying, "Highlander is proud of you."[28] Still, the tone of Parks' acceptance showed her distress at the boycott's effects on her life."

Though always above board, Horton's motives were not entirely altruistic. In Parks, he saw a strategic foothold in the movement that Highlander so desperately needed. Between 1944 and 1950, the folk school's agenda had sought a revival of the Farmers' Union in Tennessee, Virginia, and Alabama. When the organizing effort failed to generate a social movement, Horton observed, "We were trying to create something to respond to." In realizing that Highlander could not create a social movement, Horton turned his staff's efforts increasingly to strategies of adaptation and co-optation of the emerging civil rights movement. The relation was symbiotic: as much as the school had to contribute to the movement educationally, it also needed the vitality of the new trend's resources to survive. In that way, the school's transition from farm labor issues to integration was aided by the staff's ability to adapt to emerging trends that were consonant with their core values. Their willingness to gamble on a positive outcome for the

1954 Brown decision on the constitutionality of segregated public schools had led to a series of workshops at Monteagle in 1953. While individual contributions and non-profit foundation grants underwrote these new activities, union-based financial support was threatened by this controversial new direction.[28] For Horton, adapting the techniques of applied sociology from one front to the next was at once natural and essential. In 1953, he had recommended that Highlander expand its agenda to attract leaders from a wide range of backgrounds. In Parks, he had an ideal recruit.[29]

The increased participation in the three workshops held at Highlander during the summer of 1956 bore out the value of Horton's decision. Besides serving as an attraction in pre-workshop publicity, Parks' principal role involved recounting her arrest experience. As she explained, "This was the place for me to stop being pushed around."[30] At the March 3-4, 1956, meeting, Horton interviewed Parks as part of a panel discussion about the direct action she took in Montgomery following her Highlander training. To evaluate its educational programs, Highlander relied on participants' direct action upon returning home. The school's tactics for change embraced a range of socially disruptive techniques from economic boycotts as in Montgomery to the later use of lunch counter sit-ins, as well as organizing community committees to petition local school boards for integration. The common goal was to "challenge racial patterns."[31]

Horton cultivated other forms of symbolism in developing the Highlander's new direction, especially where it reflected the school's influence. The 1956 Highlander Annual Report reflected the revitalization brought on by the Freedom Movement, as the early civil rights movement was known. Its entire presentation revealed a complete program-conversion to the integration issue, a point highlighted by a photo montage of a scene featuring L. A. Blackman, a Black South Carolinian who had attended the summer, 1955, Highlander workshop with Parks. Upon returning home, hooded Klansmen had confronted him. His reply to them was on the report's cover: "I'm here in Elloree. I've been here seventeen years, and I have no idea of leaving. I'm going to stay." His courage and Parks' arrest were publicized as evidence of the success of the Highlander's on-site workshops.[22]

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As well as administering educational workshops, the school's staff executed correspondence, fund-raising, and press relations without fanfare, perhaps treating these duties as clerical chores. At the superficial level of protocol, the office correspondence reflects obligatory invitations to events and thank you notes to supporters. But a substantial amount of the work addressed fund-raising, media relations, recruiting, connections to other organizations, strategic timing. Horton's correspondence with Virginia Durr reflects a dialogue between two highly involved

managers. Horton was also in regular correspondence with Septima Clark as she travelled the South on behalf of the school and with New York supporters Ralph Tefferteller, and Stewart and Charlotte Meacham, as well as with others like permanent Monteagle staffer Henry Shipherd.

Throughout 1956 these discussions focussed on Rosa Parks, her well-being, and her participation in fund-raising plans for Highlander around the country. Although the Ford Foundation and other philanthropies offered some support, the Highlander's funding came chiefly from donations by individuals. A memo from Tefferteller to Horton dated March 6, 1956, queried the timing of Parks' arrival in New York, proposing various gatherings in private homes and at the Carnegie Endowment Building. As he relayed the planning of his New York committee to Horton, a key tactical concern of his was whether Parks' "appearance as a part of the panel would prevent her from being singled out as the central figure in a meeting which should be, for all practical purposes, resulting in the raising of funds for Highlander?"

In May, Meacham detailed several of Parks' fund-raising trips to Los Angeles, Anderson, Indiana, and New York City to meet with college groups, interested supporters, and United Nations officials, respectively. Later that month, he also chronicled an important meeting in New York he had arranged between Parks and A. Phillip Randolph, the head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a major Black union. As Parks told about what kind of

school the Highlander was, Randolph was "bowled over" to learn that she had been there before and after the boycott began. His interest in unionizing efforts in the South was piqued by the Highlander effect and its union-based history, leading Meacham to write, "I am strongly of the opinion that Randolph can become a very strong friend of Highlander if it is handled right."

In the same letter, Meacham reported that "Rosa brought us a copy of the guest list at the Waldorf dinner," displaying his keen sense of her ability to extend the Highlander's access to new resources."

Just as this level of internal communication went unseen by workshop participants and Highlander observers, so did the school's media relations practice. Circulated from Monteagle or generated by Highlander staffers in the field, press releases were written in inverted pyramid following a one-page format featuring a date-line, a contact address, the note: "for immediate release," and a journalist's closing "-###-." Often, they were distributed in a stock format for customization and distribution throughout the South by the Highlander's local operatives.[34]

Just as with every other interaction between the integrated school and Southern society, the school's workshop announcements, met with resistance from white newspaper editors. As Clark recounts one experience with the editor of her hometown daily papers in Charleston, S.C., a familiar story unfolds. Over the phone, his response to the prospect of writing an article about a

recent Highlander-related workshop there in Charleston seemed positive. When she presented the write-up in person, though, his enthusiasm chilled. Although he promised to consider the piece, it failed to appear in print."

A year later, she tried the same channel by sending a press release to the Charleston newspaper via a white courier. The editors insisted on cutting any reference to integrated activities, though they would print portions of releases focussed on whites. When challenged, the editor claimed editorial privilege, suggesting that Clark and her group were ignorant of the newspaper business. She pointed out that one of the city's two, white-owned dailies was supported principally by Blacks and that a boycott was not out of the order. In a classical sense, Clark had discovered press relations at their adversarial worst."

As part of the evaluation made of press relations, the Highlander staff maintained a clippings file. The highlights of a given year's press coverage were usually included in the school's four-page annual reports. Interaction with the local press such as Clark attempted was aimed at generating participation in integrated activities. The 1956-1957 Highlander Report lists such coverage in major newspapers throughout the South." Reprints of favorable articles were collected by the Highlander's local supporters to be shared with others. An example was a St. Louis Post-Dispatch story, "Founder of folk school finds end of segregation soon accepted," which was distributed by the St. Louis

Committee for Highlander Folk School."[39] Additionally, much of the national coverage reflected in Highlander annual reports came from national magazines.

As Parks continued to tour New York in November, 1956, on the school's behalf, Virginia Durr wrote to Horton, "I wish you could be in New York when she was there as she needs direction, [sic] she is timid and shy and yet she has the courage of a lion."[40] Indeed, Parks lent herself to the school's efforts fully, but she was no leader. Her passive participation in Highlander public relations underscores the structured public relations program that the school's staff and constituents worked so consciously to provide.

At the time of that New York trip, Parks' financial situation had not stabilized. With their fingers firmly on the pulse of the organization's resources, Horton, Durr, and Clark schemed to hire her permanently at Monteagle but to no avail. Parks considered the Highlander's offer of work as a paid speaker throughout the South to be too dangerous.[41] The strain of the year and a half since her arrest had been enormous. When her mother's and husband's illnesses caused Parks to leave the South to live with her brother in Detroit in 1957, the school lost a prominent advocate. Yet the program rolled on.[42]

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Although Myles Horton and the Highlander staff saw their work as education for "social activism" rather than "public relations," the conscious development of feedback from such Highlander participants as Parks and Blackman served to develop the school's activist agenda for the Freedom Movement. What set Horton and the Highlander staff apart from other radical education centers was the way they set out to see actualize their social values. To achieve that goal, Highlander programs had to be strategically flexible. Following the axiom to "learn from the people, and start education where they are" over the course of the school's twenty-nine-year history at Monteagle, Horton and others developed a variety of educational programs to meet diverse situations in the field. These included adapting to the needs of poverty-stricken workers near Monteagle, Southern industrial laborers caught between hostile corporate and civic leaders, on the one hand, and dormant labor unions, on the other, the abortive Farmers' Union program, and the civil rights movement.[11]

During the civil rights phase of the Highlander's history, the tactic of residential living gave such participants as Parks their first comfortable experiences in a racially integrated context. The workshops took place over periods as brief as two days and as long as eight weeks. The average attendance ranged between 15 and 40 students. Bringing together people of disparate social, economic, and religious backgrounds to address racial problems

besetting them all required the trust borne of a home-like atmosphere. To that end, "every conventional learning device [was] discarded." Speaking to a group of Blacks in Columbia, S.C., about her residential experience at Monteagle, Highlander graduate Nancy Gough, a Black school teacher from Columbia, S.C. said,

> We shared a common bathroom and there was a voluntary exchange of such personal possessions as bathing suits, bathing caps, toothpaste, soap, etc. Nobody seemed to care who owned what. The reason I mention <u>how</u> we lived at Highlander is because to a Negro in the South, the sense of personal dignity and respect which goes with these simple acts is more meaningful than a hundred sermons or a dozen interracial marriages."

As the Highlander staff intended, the unspoken message of the residential strategy communicated an intimacy to students based on egalitarian values. Invariably, the strongest feedback in conference questionnaires came as approval for that approach.

At base, the school's response to each situation came from the program participants who were motivated to seek strategic solutions to their problems. Most held positions of leadership in their communities and organizations, offering the possibility of successful action at home. To build the conferences around common interests, the staff researched participants' problems before each session. Once there, the staff would provide topical prompts such as films, recordings, role-playing exercises, and texts to augment the participants' experiences and to stimulate their ideas. Myles' wife, Zilphia Horton, who died tragically in early 1956, would also lead folk singing, where new lyrics were often composed to express

the problem at hand. Throughout the problem-centered discussion approach to goal definition featured in working sessions, attendees found their greatest resources in each other. During the workshop, participants would describe problems from their communities. Then, a collective discussion of possible solutions would give each person the chance to contribute expertise while profiting from the group's shared experience. In many cases, solutions were transferred from one community to another via these Highlander students. After the discussion, participants would divide into two groups to draft plans for action to use once they had returned home. Working as committees, each group would then present its suggestions to the whole group of students, staff, and consultants for consideration. At that point, a smaller panel would undertake the editorial preparation of the final document, which was then distributed through the Monteagle headquarters[44]. For example, "Working Toward Integrated Public Schools in Your Own Community: A Guide to Action," was a six-page document created during the Highlander workshop held from July 12-August 8, 1953, and it offered advice under the subheadings: "how to begin," "get the facts," "develop a way of working," "suggestions for sharing responsibility and activity," and "suggested lines of action." At each point, practical instructions were offered regarding adaptable strategies and tactics for use by workshop participants in their individual home communities. More than 2,000 copies were ordered

nationwide. The Highlander staff and students created such a guide during Parks' first workshop."

The Highlander evaluation strategy that measured educational effectiveness by community-based action established a communications continuum between their internal and external publics. Evaluation proceeded at four levels: first, immediately during the workshops participants were encouraged to make suggestions about the way the staff was supporting the goal-and action-development processes; second, according to the actions participants undertook later at home; third, through interactions of new students and "educated" Highlander students who were already active in their own communities; and fourth, through the staff's "after-process" follow-through to support Highlander student activists. In the latter circumstance, Highlander staffers responded with whatever material, legal, or informational needs the student activist might call for." Such interaction offered staffers an opportunity to monitor the effectiveness of their workshops in changing social processes in Southern communities.

This on-going contact also served as research for subsequent sessions as the school's staff set workshop agenda-setting according to participants' experiences. In this way, Parks' experience in Montgomery in late 1955 helped to set a new agenda for workshops thereafter. Workshop topics in 1956 included "passive resistance, registration and voting, transportation, housing, parks, and action through churches, along with school

integration." Except for the last topic, all of the these points reflect new experiences found in Montgomery by the boycotting community. In the three residential workshops held in July and August of 1956, for example, the ecumenical approach to the study of nonviolent resistance based on the teachings of Gandhi, Christ, Buddha, and Thoreau demonstrated the Highlander's interaction with the emerging movement. At the same time in Montgomery, the principles of Gandhian nonviolent protest were being actively explored by King and the M.I.A. At the time of this agenda change at Highlander, the Montgomery boycott was barely three months into its 382-day period.[47]

With so much happening so quickly, Horton and others followed the effects of Parks' nonviolent direct action in Montgomery avidly. Where they could, they provided financial aid and moral support while gathering as much information as possible to evaluate of what was going on in the new boycott. In terms of the school's public relations strategy, the changes that Parks brought reflected the openness of two-way, symmetrical interaction between the school's workshops and Southern cities and communities. In this case, Parks did not take the school's action agenda home with her, but she helped to signal the Highlander's attention to a new set of dimensions.[48]

Throughout the program, Horton's stamp was evident. His reliance on participants' experiences stemmed from his recognition that the limitations imposed by the racially divided South on his

creative management role. He recognized the tactical need to rely on Black movement participants because they had credibility among Blacks in many cases where he did not.

The racial complexities of planning actions in the civil rights movement were not as simple as Black and white, though: prejudices from both sides cut against both whites and Blacks on the Highlander staff. Septima Clark, for example, was a school teacher from Charleston, South Carolina, and a past Highlander student. She joined the school staff after having been fired from her teaching position for her participation in a local credit union used to fight a White Citizens' Council financial embargo against the Black community. She quickly became central to the organization's management."[30] In that role, she experienced rejection from both whites and Blacks. Whites often shunned her outside of Highlander because of her dark skin; over the phone, they assumed that she was white because her speaking voice and written language did not sound "Black." Blacks sometimes assumed that she was white, as well, causing them to arrange white lodging for her."[31]

Considering the capricious and often violent public dynamic the school's administration faced, Highlander's research-driven process would have satisfied even today's criteria for proactive, goal-based, research- and evaluation-driven management recommended by leading public relations and communications educators.[32] Early in the civil rights movement, the Highlander Folk School developed

into a smoothly running public relations operation. Through individual transformations like Parks' -- across and within levels ranging from the interpersonal communication in workshops to interorganizational relations within students' communities to the mass mediated relations with the mass public -- the organization refined the application of formal communicatons strategies. Across the board, what qualified the Highlander staff's communications management activities as legitimate public relations was their strategic use of formal channels of communication to communicate with internal and external publics about planned actions for the accomplishment of stated goals within a continuous and reflexive cycle of research. In sum, theirs was a nearly ideal tactical approach. Moreover, the staff demonstrated the ability to adapt tactical development toward new frontiers that were attractive because of their values-orientation. Initially, this led to the development of more extensive and successful strategies and tactics as Highlander set its sights ever higher. More fundamentally, the marriage of operational strategies to the pursuit of core values reflecting Highlander mission proved transcendent over time, supporting the accomplishment of mission goals through the school's 29-year progression from local to national movement projects.

By 1961 when the school met its demise at the hands of state authorities opposed to its integrationist programs, its relationship had become inextricably bound with the civil rights movement. From the time of Parks' arrest and the Montgomery bus

boycott, Black and white leaders of the movement came to see Highlander as their "rallying place." Out of those rallies came public relations programs equipped with strategies to keep both the school and the movement vital in a tumultuous environment.

- 6 -

The evidence of this case challenges the rigid claimsmaking of contemporary public relations educators and practitioners who, in seeking to construct a formal discipline *like other disciplines*, have named exclusive ethical standards to match a separately derived framework of professional operating norms. While this represents an attempt to unmuddy the ethical waters around public relations practice, pairing categories of ethics and practice, like chapters in so many public relations textbooks, cannot convey the dynamic that is possible between them -- especially where they are conceived of as parts of a whole, like at Highlander."[11] By comparison with a case like Highlander, such disciplinary "boundary naming" seems at best artificial to actual communications processes. At the level of university and conference administrations, it more nearly resembles a concerted strategy for claiming a place for public relations within journalism schools and corporate hierarchies. The greatest danger of this quest for self-definition would seem to be its own success: Too nearly achieving the norms of bureaucracy could produce a trap where the seekers of

definition become the jealous guardians of the terms of their own static specialties.

Surely, disciplinary standardization brings its benefits. But to date, the development of a public relations literature has been devoted too much to this building task to allow for critical -- albeit participating -- voices. By contrast, stepping outside of the "traditional" boundaries of public relations scholarship can contribute to the study, development, and practice of communications strategies and tactics in those same institutional contexts. By focussing on American corporatism, the leading lights in public relations education come by their love of stasis honestly. But, as shown here, public relations is also practiced outside of the walls of institutional hierarchy where conflict, not stasis, is the norm and where change is the goal. To that end, the experiences presented in this study should suggest conclusions common to practitioners in institutional and non-institutional settings. Principally, organization-based relations with internal and external publics may be stronger and subsequent accomplishment of strategic goals more probable when communicators become stake-holders in the values that their actions represent, as did the staff of the Highlander.

Above all, Highlander represents more than the proficient practice of formal communication skills. Its staff taught people how to design and to perform their own organizational communications in the quest of ethically driven goals, e.g. fair

pay or racial equality, in each of the four periods of its existence. In this way, the Highlander Folk School served as a deep resource for oppressed, non-institutionally based people throughout the South from 1932-61. Where public relations might ideally reflect a *process* over time, as an organizing vehicle Highlander bridged ethos and action in a world constantly in flux.

Notes

1. Adams, F. Unearthing Seed of Fire: The Idea of Highlander. (Winston-Salem, N.C.: John F. Blair, 1975), 122; Bledsoe, Thomas. Or We'll All Hang Separately: The Highlander Idea. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), 221; Branch, Taylor. Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 130; Garrow, David J. Bearing the Cross. (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1986), 13; Morris, Aldon D. "The Rise of the Civil Rights Movement and its Movement Black Power Structure, 1953-1963." (doctoral Thesis, State University of New York, Stony Brook, 1980), 394.

2. Lang, K. and Lang, G. Collective dynamics. (New York: Crowel Co., 1961,) 99; See also: Freeman, Jo. "On the origins of social movements." In Social movements of the sixties and seventies, edited by Jo Freeman. (New York: Longman, 1983,) 8-30. In this article, Freeman demonstrates the succession of movements from the civil rights movement, the student movement, the National Welfare Rights Organization, and the women's liberation movement. The value of experienced "organizers" came through their communication of tactics from previous movements to new ones. Although the values were compatible in these cases, the transferability of the organizing techniques should be evident; Not all tactics will work in all contexts. See also, Freeman, Jo. "A model for analyzing the strategic options of social movement organizations." In Social movements of the sixties and seventies, edited by J. Freeman. (New York: Longman, 1983,) 193-210. This article explores the limitations of such tactical transferability.

3. Grunig, James E. and Hunt, Todd T. Managing Public Relations. (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1984,) 5, 66. With these criteria, Grunig and Hunt seek to name the boundaries of public relations professionalism, as if to control the values of organizational communication by prescription. In this way, they blur the distinction between technical, tactically oriented standards of public relations practice and the social values supported by those organizational communication techniques;

Cutlip, Scott M., Center, Allen H., Broom, Glen M. Effective Public Relations. (Englewood-Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1985,) 72-75. Also commonly used in university-level public relations education, the Cutlip et al. text acknowledges the same basic criteria of professionalism. The authors share Grunig's concern that public relations should be considered a profession but do not believe that his five point ideal is feasible in toto. Instead, the authors consider that "strict interpretation of the criteria would preclude calling public relations a 'profession.' Many of its

practitioners, on the other hand, certainly qualify as professionals on many or most criteria" (p. 73). Although less rigid in defining the profession, Cutlip et al. reinforce the contention that public relations is a specialized activity.;

Wilcox, Dennis L., Ault, Phillip H., Agee, Warren K. Public Relations: Strategies and tactics. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992,) 125-133. Wilcox et al. present a more ecumenical debate about how to professionalize public relations more or less within the Grunig and Cutlip-prescribed margins but without taking a stand;

The problem throughout the broader debate is the assumption that normative or objective ethical values can be taught in a discrete fashion along with equally discrete strategies and tactics, that university training is essential, that a pre-approved "body of knowledge" should drive public relations behavior, and that membership in a professionalizing public relations organization is relevant in all cases. The objectivist tone of this dominant perspective in public relations education threatens the discipline's vital practice, especially where "multiculturalism" increasingly demands alternatives to the traditional, bureaucratic values these authors promote. It's not that their values about public realtions are right or wrong. It's more basic than that: The dominant method for teaching students how to *think* about values and action in public relations is too rigid to be useful outside of the contexts of the corporate public relations firm and department. At that rate, I doubt that it presents tha optimum model for those areas, either.

Given this need to find broader relevance in the way we define public relations, the Highlander case demonstrates genuinely "professional" competencies without benefit of this controlled environment. Studying cases such as the present one offer public relations educators, students, and practitioners object lessons in public relations practice outside of the norms that Grunig, Cutlip, et al., would determine; Grunig and Hunt, 3; Shotwell, John M. "Crystallizing Public Hatred: Ku Klux Klan Public Relations in the 1920s" (M.A. Thesis. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1974).

4. Each of the following public relations texts addresses these general principles of the practice of public relations: Grunig, James E. and Hunt, Todd T. Managing Public Relations. New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, 1984; Cutlip, Scott M., Center, Allen M., and Broom, Glen M., Effective Public Relations. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1985; Newsom, Doug, Scott, Alan, Turk, Judy V. This is PR: The Realities of Public Relations. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1989; Wilcox, Dennis, Ault, Phillip H., Agee, Warren K. Public relations: Strategies and tactics. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1992; D'Aprix, Roger. Communicating for Productivity. New York: Harper & Row, 1982; Simon, Raymond. Public Relations: Concepts and Practices. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1980.

5. The session was called, "The South prepares to carry out the Supreme Court decision outlaving segregation in public schools. "Conference brochure from July 24-August 6, 1955, workshop at Highlander. Highlander Research and Education Center Papers, hereafter referred to as "HFS Papers," Box 78, folder 12.

6. A. Horton, "The Highlander Folk School: A history," 36. Myles Horton always intended to have an integrated school. In notes made on Christmas night of 1931 during his trip to Denmark, Myles Horton wrote about the residential folk school he hoped to found that, "Negroes should be among the students;" Durr, Virginia Foster. Outside the magic circle: the autobiography of Virginia Foster Durr. University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1985, 278-279.

7. 23rd Annual Report, Oct. 1, 1954-Sept. 30-1955, 1. An annual calendar of on-site workshops is provided, as well as an article on the activities pursued during the July 24-August 8, 1955, workshop that Parks attended with 47 other participants. HFS Papers. Box 1, folder 6; Glen, John M. "On the Cutting Edge: A History of the Highlander Folk School, 1932-1962" (doctoral Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1986), 449; 24th Annual Report, 4. HFS Papers, Box 1, folder 6.; Branch, Taylor. Parting the Waters, 121-122; Durr, V. F., Outside the Magic Circle, pp. 278-279.

8. Adams, Unearthing seeds of fire: the idea of Highlander, 153.

9. Horton, Aimee I. "The Highlander Folk School: A History of the Development of its Major Programs Related to Social Movements in the South, 1932-1961" (doctoral Thesis, University of Chicago, 1971), 14, 24-25, 28-29, 31, 36, 315, 327; HFS papers: Overview of the Highlander prepared as introduction to the collection's catalog by K. Baumann and G. Engels (first names unknown), and dated December 10, 1973; Morris, A. D. "Movement centers: MIA, ICC, and ACMHR." Chp. 3 in The origins of the civil rights movement. New York: The Free Press, 1984, 141-143. The Highlander developed successful movement organizations including the SCLC and CORE, which became formal institutions as opposed to the Montgomery Improvement Association, for example, the lifetime of which was tied only to the life of the Montgomery bus boycott. Myles Horton's interest was in helping community leaders learn from each other what their collective problems were and how to treat them, rather than letting the Highlander staff perform that function. At any rate, Horton considered that a situation's stake-holders were inherently suited to perform their own problem-solving function; Griffith, William S. "A Growth Model of Institutions of Adult Education," doctoral Thesis. University of Chicago, 1963.

10. Bledsoe, Or we'll all hang separately: the Highlander idea, 219.

11. Morris, The Rise of the Civil Rights Movement, 378-382.

12. Brochure from July 24-August 6, 1955, school integration workshop. HFS Papers. Box 78, folder 12.

13. Glen, John M. "On the cutting edge: a history of the Highlander Folk School, 1932-1962" (doctoral thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1986), 2; Morris, The rise of the civil rights movement, 377-379; McAdam, Douglas, John. D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald. Social Movements. In The handbook of Sociology, ed. by Neil J. Smelser. (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1988), 717-718.

14. Excerpted quote of Rosa Parks at Loop College Community Workshop directed by Mrs. C. T. Vivian. May 13, 1970. Chicago. HFS Papers. Box 22, folder 22; See also Parks, Rosa. My Story. (New York: Dial, 1992,) 105.

15. Horton, A., "The Highlander Folk School: a history of the development of its major programs," 259. Parks' reticence was noted by fellow workshop participants who recalled that she was "extremely shy and quiet" during the early days of the session; Her participation in the workshop is reported in Glen, "On the cutting edge," 444-445. Glen describes her NAACP work history on p. 449; Morris, "The rise of the civil rights movement," 400.

16. "Working toward integrated public schools in your own community: a guide to action," HFS Papers, Box 78, folder 12; Horton, A., "The Highlander Folk School: a history of the development of its major programs related to social movements in the South, 1932-1961," 262.

17. "Mrs. Rosa Parks Reports on Montgomery, A,a., Bus Protest." HFS Papers. Box 79, folder 1.

18. Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 13-14.

19. V. Durr to M. and Z. Horton, Jan. 30, 1956. HFS Papers, Box 11, folder 1.

20. Parks' self-perceived role in the emerging movement is recorded in an interview by Willie M. Lee on February 5, 1956. Montgomery, AL. Preston Valien Papers, Amistad Research Center, New Orleans, LA. (uncatalogued.); Also in a letter to Myles and Zilphia Horton, HFS Papers, Box 22, folder 22.

21. King, Martin L., Jr. Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 44.

22. Bloom, John M. "Civil Rights: The Emergence of a Movement" (doctoral Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1980), 262-263. Regarding King's reluctance to take a prominent role in the emerging movement, Bloom quotes Andrew Young: "I'm convinced that Martin never wanted to be a leader. I mean, everything he did, he was pushed into.'"

Bloom quotes Coretta King from her book, My Life with Martin Luther King, Jr., where she recalls King's having said:

> If anybody had told me a couple of years ago, when I accepted the presidency of the MIA, that I would be in this position, I would have avoided it with all my strength. This is not the life I expected to lead. But gradually you take some responsibility, then a little more, until finally you are not in control anymore. You have to give yourself entirely.
>
> (pp. 163-164)

23. The Highlander had run school integration workshops since 1953, in anticipation of the Brown decision; Bloom, "Civil rights: the emergence of a movement," 257-259.

24. V. Durr to M. and Z. Horton, Feb. 24, 1956; Glen, "On the cutting edge: a history of the Highlander Folk School, 1932-1962." 451-452.

25. In the Willie Lee interview of February 5, 1956, Parks dispels the rumor of her firing, explaining, "Well, that really isn't true. Before the protest began, the head of the alteration department had given notice that he was leaving at the end of the year to go into business for himself. It was decided since it was not too easy to get a replacement, that they would close the department and transfer alteration jobs to him. And since he knew me and would need a seamstress, he hired me. And that's the complete story." Preston Valien Papers; HFS Papers, Box 11, folder 1.

26. M. Horton to R. Parks, Feb. 20, 1956; M. Horton to V. Durr, Feb. 20, 1956; M. Horton to V. Durr, Feb. 29, 1956. Box 11, folder 1, HFS Papers. The telegram read, "Tonight neighbors and Highlander teachers will be gathered here in the mountains at the time of your prayer meeting to join with you in spirit. The passive resistance movement your calm and courageous action set in motion set in motion there in Montgomery deserves the backing of all who seek justice. Highlander is proud of you."; V. Durr to M. and Z. Horton, March 2, 1956; Letter from M. Horton to C. and V. Durr, April 4, 1956, Box 11, folder 1, HFS Papers.

27. Parks to Horton, Feb. 25, 1956. HFS Papers, Box 22, folder 22. Principally, Parks was concerned with having been involved in the mass indictment of 89 people named by the city as bus protest leaders, as well as at having been convicted for her Dec. 1 arrest. She was also concerned about her financial condition.

28. Glen, John. Highlander: No Ordinary School, 1932-1962. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 133-134.

29. Glen, "On the cutting edge," 423; A. Horton, "The Highlander Folk School: a history of the development of its major programs related to social movements in the South, 1932-1961," 426-428, 236, 423-424.

30. See the workshop brochure, "Highlander workshops on public school integration: July 15-21, July 15-21, August 5-11, August 19-25, 1956." HFS Papers, Box 79, folder 1; Glen, "On the cutting edge: a history of the Highlander Folk School, 1932-1962.", 458; Press release, Feb. 27, 1956. HFS Papers, Box 79, folder 1; A. Horton, "The Highlander Folk School: a history of the development of its major programs related to social movements in the South, 1932-1961," 263.

31. Transcript of a taped discussion: "Report by Rosa Parks on the Montgomery, Alabama, Passive Resistance Movement." March 3-4, 1956. HFS Papers, Box 79, folder 1; On "direct action," see Morris, The rise of the civil rights movement, pp. 151-153; Horton, A. "The Highlander Folk School: a history of the development of its major programs," 325.

32. 24th Annual Report, HFS Papers. Box 1, Folder 6; Adams, Seeds of Fire, 121; A. Horton, "The Highlander Folk School: a history of the development of its major programs," 264.

33. This correspondence reflects discussions about Parks' Highlander activities. All cites from HFS Papers: H. Shipherd to S. Clark. Aug. 10, 1954. Box 9, folder 12; S. Clark to H. Shipherd. Aug. 31, 1954. Box 9, folder 12; M. Horton to R. Tefferteller. Jan. 3, 1956. Box 47, folder 3; V. Durr to M. Horton. Feb. 8, 1956. Box 11, folder 1; M. Horton to V. Durr. Feb. 20, 1956. Box 11, folder 1; V. Durr to M. and Z. Horton. Feb. 24, 1956. Box 11, folder 1; V. Durr to M. Horton. Feb. 29, 1956. Box 11, folder 1; V. Durr to M. and Z. Horton. March 2, 1956; R. Tefferteller to M. Horton. March 6, 1956. Box 47, folder 3; M. Horton to R. Tefferteller. March 30, 1956. Box 47, folder 3; M. Horton to C. and V. Durr. April 4, 1956. Box 11, folder 1; M. Horton to S. Meacham. May 2, 1956. Box 47, folder 3; S. Meacham to M. Horton. (ca. May, 1956). Box 47, folder 3; V. Durr to M. Horton. Nov. 5, 1956. Box 11, folder 1; M. Horton to V. Durr. Nov. 7, 1956. Box 11, folder 1; M. Horton V. Durr to M. Horton. Nov. 15, 1956. Box 11, folder 1; S.

Clark to M. Horton ("Dear Friends"). Dec. 10, 1956. Box 47, folder 3; S. Clark to M. Horton. March 15, 1957. Box 9, folder 12; V. Durr to Myles. Aug. 14, 1957. Box 11, folder 1;

34. For example, see press release of Feb. 27, 1956. Box 66, folder 6; H. Shipherd to S. Clark, Aug. 10, 1954. Box 9, folder 12.

35. S. Clark to H. Shipherd. Aug. 31, 1954. Box 9, folder 12.

36. S. Clark to M. Horton. January 22, 1955. Box 9, folder 12; See also H. Shipherd to S. Clark, Aug. 10, 1954. Box 9, folder 12, re: "a news release that has been sent out to newspapers throughout the South."

37. 25th Annual Report, 3.

38. From "Program Highlights, October, 1951-March, 1952," Box 1, folder 6.

39. V. Durr to M. Horton. Nov. 15, 1956. Box 11, folder 1.

40. Glen, "On the cutting edge," 451-452; Letter from Septima Clark to M. Horton, March 15, 1957. Box 9. HFS Papers.

41. S. Clark to M. Horton. March 15, 1957. Box 9, folder 12; M. Horton to V. Durr. Nov. 7, 1956. Box 11, folder 1; S. Clark to "dear friends" at the Highlander. Dec. 10, 1956. Box 47; V. Durr to M. Horton. August 14, 1957. Box 11, folder 1.

42. A. Horton, "The Highlander Folk School: a history of the development of its major programs related to social movements in the South, 1932-1961," 319, 321, 325-326; Adams, "Education for social change," 1-2.

43. A. Horton, "The Highlander Folk School: a history of the development of its major programs related to social movements in the South, 1932-1961," 256, 323; Adams, F. "Education for social change," 6-7; Glen, J. M. "On the cutting edge: a history of the Highlander Folk School, 1932-1962," 6-7; Horton, A., "The Highlander Folk School: a history of the development of its major programs related to social movements in the South, 1932-1961," 257; "A South Carolina Public School Teacher Tells Her People about Highlander, Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee, September 1, 1954." Box 78, folder 7.

44. A. Horton, "The Highlander Folk School: a history of the development of its major programs related to social movements in

the South, 1932-1961," 256; Morris, A., "The rise of the civil rights movement," 390-391.

45. "Working toward integrated public schools in your own community: A guide to action," HFS Papers, box 78, folder 5; "Synopsis of program, workshop on desegregation: July 24-August 6, 1955," box 78, folder 12; "Work sheet: working toward integrated public school in your own community -- a guide to action," box 78, folder 12.

46. Adams, F. "Education for social change." 10; A. Horton, "The Highlander Folk School: a history of the development of its major programs related to social movements in the South, 1932-1961." 323-324.

47. Adams, Frank. Education for Social Change. (New Market, TN: Highlander Research and Education Center, 1972, Pamphlet), 5; A. Horton, "The Highlander Folk School: a history of the development of its major programs related to social movements in the South, 1932-1961," 317-318, 262-262; "Report on Passive Resistance or Creative Non-Violent Resistance," July-August, 1956, HFS Papers, Box 79, folder 1; "Highlander workshops on public school integration: July 15-21, August 5-11, August 19-25, 1956." HFS Papers, box 79, folder 1.

48. V. Durr to M. Horton, Feb. 18, 1956. box 11, folder 1; M. Horton to V. Durr, Feb. 20, 1956, Box 11, folder 1; V. Durr to M. and Z. Horton, Feb. 24, 1956, Box 11, folder 1; M. Horton to V. Durr, Feb. 26, 1956. HFS Papers, box 11, folder 1; V. Durr to M. and Z. Horton, March 2, 1956, Box 11, folder 1.

49. 24th Annual Report, HFS Papers, Box 1, folder 6. "Dismissed Teacher Now On Our Staff," 2.

50. M. Horton to V. Durr, September 25, 1957. Box 11, folder 1; "Septima Clark's extension report to Highlander Executive Council, Jan. 5-6, 1957 -- George Mitchell, chairman," p. 3, box 9, folder 12; S. Clark to Henry Shipherd of the Highlander staff, box 9, folder 12.

51. With great consistency, the functional criteria of public relations today are reflected in the following textual treatments of the subject: Grunig, J. E. and Hunt, T. T., Managing public relations, 89-203. In the core chapters of this text, the authors review organizational systems theory, defining goals and objectives, identifying organizational linkages to publics, budgeting and decision making, and evaluation research; Cutlip, S. M., Center, A. H., Broom, G. M. 1985. Effective public relations, 199-310. Similarly, the authors address problem definition,

planning and programing, taking action and communicating, and evaluation; Simon, R., Public relations: Concepts and Practices, 189-215. Simon devotes this chapter to research, problem definition, goal development, action planning, and evaluation; Wilcox, Ault, and Agee, Public relations: Strategies and tactics, 168-228. Wilcox et al. address planning the action in Management-by-Objectives terms, communicating to concerned publics, and evaluation; Beyond these public relations text books prepared for the undergraduate public relations classroom in journalism schools, it is important to consider other sources from the organizational communication literature such as Phil Clampitt's Communicating for Managerial Effectiveness and Roger D'Aprix's Communicating for Productivity. Where the above cited public relations texts carry Library of Congress subject headings of "public relations," the Clampitt and D'Aprix books are labelled "communication in management." Although itself an arbitrary system, the Library of Congress subject headings lead to a broader range of educational information about organizational communications management, a.k.a. public relations, than Grunig's "body of knowledge" criterion might permit in its quest for "professionalism."

52. See note 4.

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